

tious. The writers are all academics: Bay is professor of political science at the University of Toronto; Green is professor of government at Smith; Ryan is professor of psychology at Boston College. Unlike much writing from the academy, the authors neither patronize nor obfuscate. Perhaps, beyond their immediate purpose, the books also foretell a renewed awareness by the university of its role in public life. [WV]

### **EASTERN POLITICS OF THE VATICAN 1917-1979**

by **Hansjakob Stehle**

(Ohio University Press; 466 pp.; \$20.00)

*Gordon C. Zahn*

Those Catholics who have come to regard anticommunism as an article of faith will be disturbed, even shocked, by some of the things reported in this book. The idea of elaborately secret negotiations between the then Nuncio Pacelli (Pius XII) and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Chicherin is a theme worthy of some literary master of international intrigue; yet they occurred, and similar efforts were being made even as Rome expanded its public "hard-line" against the atheist threat of World Bolshevism. Nothing much came of these negotiations, of course. A lack of good faith on both sides probably doomed them from the beginning.

Stehle brings impressive credentials as editor/correspondent for leading German newspapers and radio; and they have given him access to a wealth of sources, private as well as public, enabling him to produce a study compelling in content and style. One assumes that part of the credit for the latter belongs to Sandra Smith, the translator. As the title makes clear, Stehle covers the full sweep of relationships between the Vatican and the USSR — and, after World War II, the satellite nations — detailing the shifts from early stumbling efforts at dialogue to underground maneuvers to outright denunciations and finally, in more recent times, to ecclesiastical détente and experiments in coexistence. At the earliest stages the Vatican apparently had a

dream of co-opting the Russian Orthodox faithful (exploiting the vulnerability of the Russian Church because of its previous association with the czarist order). This soon became a desperate effort to salvage some sort of continuing presence for the Latin Church in the face of a concerted Soviet effort to negate, if not eliminate, all influence of organized religion in the realm of public affairs.

In the process of holding on to what it could and exploiting every slight opportunity to better its situation, the Vatican played the diplomatic game with all the skill at its command. And let it be acknowledged that, however much deceit may be a normal component of diplomacy, the level of duplicity achieved in this instance bordered on outright scandal at times. Both parties engaged in a strange and perilous dance, with all the cunning of serpents and none of the innocence of doves.

Stehle would insist that this is the way the game had to be played. And pragmatically speaking he is probably right. Surely there is little disposition on his part to criticize the adversarial posture taken by the popes toward Communist ideology and practices even when, as now, the objective is clearly one of establishing some kind of *modus vivendi*. If anything, he sometimes seems overly willing to grant the popes and their diplomatic corps too free a hand in defining Church policy. Such great latitude does he allow in the name of political prudence that the counterbalancing value of moral fortitude is pushed into the background, if not dismissed altogether.

Indeed, the author strikes a troubling note already in his introduction. In my own work as a sociologist of religion I have consistently upheld the too easily discounted contributions of the "institutional" structure of the Roman Catholic Church; but even I find it excessive to hold that "...without a Pope no bishop, without bishops no priests, without priests no sacraments, without them no eternal salvation." Similarly, an assertion that "catacombs are no religious home for the masses—at least not for Roman Catholics" is grievously out of place in a serious study of a political situation in which "the Church of Silence" has a real, if often exaggerated and

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exploited, meaning.

What seems to have been lacking in Vatican policies—and may not be realized fully even today—is an awareness that the niceties of state-to-state diplomatic relations must occasionally give way. In their place there must be something approaching a call to the people for effective and active nonviolent resistance to its rulers. This obviously goes beyond the purely “spiritual” resistance of penance and prayer so regularly encouraged. Pius XII, in asking *Osservatore Romano*’s Berlin correspondent if he should have called upon the millions of Catholics in Hitler’s army to lay down their arms, apparently took it for granted that the only conceivable answer to the question was “no.” After all, as he went on to note, they had taken an oath and owed obedience! By the same token, the avowed readiness of a Pius XI to “deal even with the devil in person” to save a few souls and prevent greater evil has a truly heroic ring that may begin to sound hollow when the “greater evil” is that which most threatens oneself.

There is a temptation, I agree, to overromanticize martyrdom—a temptation not always avoided in the papal rhetoric, one might suggest. Stehle, however, seems in places too inclined to come to terms with—or at least not to condemn—the even more tempting appeals of compromise. Compromise so easily grows into actual complicity. Recognizing that he is introducing a conflict “almost as old as the Catholic Church itself” and one that is “rooted in her dual nature as spiritual and historic community,” Stehle goes on to declare: “in times of external oppression, martyrdom cannot be raised to a moral imperative for every single believer, and even less to a guiding principle of church policy: the latter is dictated, especially in such cases, by the historical will to survive, which tries to ‘save what can be saved.’ ”

One may disagree with his conclusion and its troublesome implications, but the issue goes well beyond the more limited focus of this excellent study to challenge the reader to address the profound question of the proper relationship between spiritual and secular authority in the light of his or her responsibilities as citizen and believer. [W.V.]

## THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR

### ORGANIZATION: AN AMERICAN VIEW by Walter Galenson

(University of Wisconsin Press; 333 pp.; \$21.50/\$7.75)

*Stephen J. Rosen*

The International Labor Organization has been in existence for over seventy years. A creation of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, the ILO has concentrated on standards of work, hours of work, minimum wages, child labor, women workers, occupational safety and health standards, collective bargaining, education, and workers’ security. In spite of this impressive array of concerns, few Americans are familiar with the organization. Those who *are* informed about the ILO often harbor doubts about its value.

Samuel Gompers was president of the American Federation of Labor when the ILO was founded. Gompers and the young union movement first supported U.S. involvement in the organization, then reversed their endorsement. Gompers was a firm believer in American capitalism and steered the AFL away from left-wing influences. Congressional support for the ILO was also limited.

Franklin D. Roosevelt’s election renewed U.S. interest in the ILO. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins supported closer ties with the group and, in 1934, the U.S. joined. In 1938 the Senate ratified five conventions dealing with seamen’s working conditions. The newly founded Congress of Industrial Organizations and the AFL both fought for the right to represent the U.S., with the AFL ultimately designated labor’s representative.

From the beginning the three components of the delegation to the ILO—labor, employers, and government—had reservations about involvement. Employers were particularly reluctant to participate during the ‘30s; those businessmen who did were for the most part New Deal liberals.

This stormy history has been repeated through the years, and no one is better prepared to describe the events and analyze the controversies than Walter Galenson, a professor at Cornell’s School of International and Labor Relations. For many years he

was also directly involved as a consultant to the ILO, and he has written or been co-author of nine books on international labor. The present volume is a methodical and well-constructed analysis of the ILO and the problems that surround it. Moreover, the format makes the book an excellent reference work. The text contains fine notes and very good bibliographical material, and each chapter deals with a specific area of ILO activities. As the title implies, the problems of the ILO are addressed from the perspective of the United States.

The problems are both structural and operational. Not unlike the United Nations, controversy surrounds the authority and veto rights given to the permanent members of the ILO. Both organized labor and management have been upset with the influence of the Communist and Arab blocs. This, along with the U.S. Government’s inability to develop effective policy within the ILO, led to a U.S. withdrawal in 1977. The Carter administration was not enthusiastic about the U.S. withdrawal, and in 1980 the United States decided to rejoin. As a spokesman for the Labor Department said: “It was felt that we gained all we could from withdrawal and that this was a good time to return if we were to retain our influence in the ILO.” Our allies had agreed to support the U.S. in securing a greater number of staff positions and upholding our vested interests.

Had the situation changed? Not really, according to Professor Galenson. The two main reasons for U.S. withdrawal—politicization and violation of due process—continued to be true of ILO operations. Anti-Israeli resolutions remained the overriding interest of member states. Still, United States representatives expressed cautious optimism about the future of the ILO. Galenson believes that the U.S. might be a nonmember to this day had the Carter administration given Ronald Reagan the opportunity to decide the reentry question.

There is more to the ILO, however, than just political dissension. Two chapters deal with more positive aspects of the organization. The U.S. has given strong support to efforts in the area of industrial training, productivity studies, social security, industrial relations, labor standards,